

May 15, 1958

A COURSE OF STUDY FOR SENIOR OFFICERS

INTRODUCTION

It is believed that the Hager outline is basically sound and designed to promote the maximum improvement of the officers assigned. There are, however, certain places where this basic outline can be improved and the proposed method and content of the course strengthened.

It is believed that the four assumptions are well chosen and clearly stated. With regard to the first assumption, I expect to recommend to Under Secretary Henderson that a basic study be undertaken to determine the needs of the Foreign Service and the Department of State and the possibility and desirability to correlate the Senior Officers Course with other Foreign Service training. It is suggested here that expert opinion be obtained regarding the advisability of an examination of the individual students to determine their individual deficiencies or needs.

A fifth assumption needs to be made either as a separate assumption or as an addition to the first assumption concerning analysis of economic, social and political data in regard to American foreign policy. I feel it should be a separate assumption. An analysis is not effective unless methods and conclusions are expressed in clear, fluent and logical language. Therefore, it is recommended that in this course, we should insist upon the importance of oral and written expression and at the very beginning provide minimum instruction in this field.

PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

It is believed that the principles of conference procedure as set forth by Dr. Hager are sound. The following points merit emphasis:

1. Daily schedules must designate exact hours for reading and daily preparation.
2. Officers must be prepared prior to each lecture-seminar to listen to and understand the material presented. Accordingly, it is of utmost importance that the lecturer be given sufficient guidance to enable him to determine not only the general subject matter but also the aspects of the subject which he is expected to present to the student officers. The lecturer should be requested, and perhaps required, to present at least two weeks before his appearance a short bibliography on the subject

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of his lecture. Adequate material and guidance must also be prepared and given to the students sufficiently in advance to enable them to be prepared.

3. It is important to bear in mind that "big names" are not always the best lecturers or instructors. The individuals to present materials at lecture-seminars should be chosen not only for their renown but more importantly for their ability to present the subject matter in the most instructive way.

4. At each lecture-seminar, it is of the utmost importance to have a "faculty member" or some individual trained and competent in the difficult field of discussion-leader to preside. This is necessary in order to seize the opportunity for pertinent questions following the end of the lecture. In sub-paragraph d. Dr. Hager suggests that in the closing discussion of the study, the group should be lead by "experts on the matter under discussion". I would question this. The purpose of the study program is to improve the "logical analytic thinking of the students". Logical analytic thinking during the lecture should also be followed by effective oral and written expression. A trained discussion leader, if we can and we must have such an individual available, generally will possess greater skill in developing effective expression as well as "logical analytic thinking" than most experts on technical subjects. Many experts are completely incompetent to develop either thinking or expression of other participants in a conference. Many have a false tendency to overawe their audience, an inclination to monopolize the discussion and a contempt for the expression of the non-expert. For these reasons, the trained discussion leader should remain in command of each session including even the concluding session. Experts should be present, of course, at the concluding session, but the control of the agenda from the order of speaking of the expert and the student officers, as well as the time limitations on speaking, should be entirely in the hands of the trained discussion leader, who, of course, must be at least as well informed on the subject under discussion as the most advanced student.

5. Mention has already been made of the need for a study of logic and for excellence in oral and written expression. Accordingly, it is felt that the points in paragraph "e" are well taken. I recall a statement once made by General MacArthur, that no matter how brilliant or well informed an officer might be, if he could not express himself effectively, he might as well be an idiot. I would add to the points made by Dr. Hager in this sub-paragraph that it is also important that the students receive a course in "how to reason". This means not only how to concentrate on what a speaker says but also retain in ones memory the speakers arguments and

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and conclusions and how to analyze the speakers logic and facts as he proceeds with the subject. I am suggesting that we ask each of the officers to read the first page of James Madison's "Journal of the Constitution Convention of 1787". They will discover how it was that Madison proved to be the most consistent speaker at the Philadelphia Convention that drafted the United States Constitution.

6. The discussion leader needs to be a scholar who has informed himself of the content of the course of study as well as one who is trained in the art of communication, argumentation and dynamic discussion. A discussion leader who allows himself to acquire a superficial knowledge of the subject under discussion is almost as dangerous to a successful conference as an expert who lacks the techniques of discussion. As examples of the type of discussion leader to be sought, the names of Dr. William S. Stokes (Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin) and Dr. Hall Bartlett (Head of the Materials Division of the Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University) have been suggested to me. They are both reportedly highly skilled in group dynamics.

Because of the importance of developing and promoting skills in logical analytic thinking, I recommend that Study I begin with three lectures devoted to the subject of "logical, analytic thinking" and that these be followed by at least three discussion periods. Dr. Hager's outline does not at present suggest any content on this important subject. It seems to be implied that these "skills" will be cultivated throughout the course by the perception and example of the discussion leaders and the lecturers. One short reading on one phase of this procedural subject is suggested under Study II, page 4 of the Hager outline where there is a reference to appendix 1 and 2 of Myrdal's American Dilemma. But, this is all. I do not think that it is adequate.

The three lectures and subsequent discussion periods should develop the fundamentals of logic, the importance of definition of terms, the use of assumptions, the nature of inference and the meaning of the scientific method. They should give attention to objectivity, bias and prejudice, also to human values, evaluations and beliefs. Finally, the importance of a statistical method should be pointed out.

The principle theme to drive home is the idea that in the analysis of political, economic and social data, there is no such thing as "pure objectivity", not even in the application of the mathematical method to such data. All that we can hope for is an approximation toward objectivity. The question then remains how to attain this approximation.

Obviously, the selection of the individual to give these lectures

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is both difficult and important. Philosophy professors tend to bog down in the intricacies of epistemology. Psychology professors get swamped in theories of the mind. English teachers and speech professors are frequently far too superficial. The editor in chief of Collier's Encyclopedia, William T. Couch, has been suggested to me as the type of lecturer required for this subject. As an editor, he has had practical experience in the quest for some approach to what scholars call objectivity.

The readings should not be too extensive. The purpose of the introductory lectures is not to examine all the problems of logic, but simply to make student-officers aware of the limitations and pitfalls of reason and persuasion. The readings might well include such reliable authorities as the following:

Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences (1949), chapter 11, pp. 49-112.

Morris Cohen and Ernest Nagel, Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method (1934), ch. i-v and xviii, pp. 3-95 and 352-475.

Ralph Barton Perry, Realms of Value: A Critique of Human Civilization (1954) ch. i and xi, pp. 1-14 and 168-183.

Harold T. Davis, Political Statistics (1954), ch. i and x, pp. 1-28 and 266-317.

Friedrich A. Hayek, Capitalism and the Historians (1954), pp. 3-32.

Edward P. Cheyney, Law in History and Other Essays (1957), ch. i, pp. 1-29.

W. H. Werkmeister, The Basis and Structure of Knowledge (1948), ch. 11, pp. 23-69.

Karl R. Popper, The Open Society and Its Enemies (1950), Vol. II, ch. xiv, pp. 246-267.

William T. Couch, "The Word and the Rope in Modern Age (Winter, 1957-1958), Vol II, no. 1, pp. 4-9.

J. A. Passmore, "The Objectivity of History" in Philosophy (April 1958) Vol. XXXIII, no. 125, pp. 97-111.

I am inclined to include in these readings the two short appendices of Myrdal's The American Dilemma (cited by Dr. Hager in his outline of Study

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II, p. 4). The competent discussion-leader, however, should point out to the student-officers that the rules of the eminent Swedish Socialist for testing objectivity were superficial, and that even these rules were flagrantly violated by him in writing the two volumes of The American Dilemma. In this respect, this much discussed book reflects an intellectual dishonesty which ought to be avoided in all research and reporting.

The total amount of reading involved in the proposed introductory study amounts to only 442 pages. If time is pressing, the last three items could be omitted which would reduce the assignment to 400 pages. In a 36-weeks Course of Study, this small allotment of time devoted to a fundamental consideration of logic will pay abundant dividends in mitigating the arrogance of any expert or of any student-officer who is cocksure that his analysis is the one and only solution of a problem or who assumes that he has taken the only "objective" approach to the subject.

READING LISTS

It is not clear from the Hager outline if he intended that the various students should read different materials. In any case, I wish to emphasize that I feel strongly any system of staggered reading assignments is not advisable.

All students should read the same basic assignment in each book or document, while special reports may be made on various topics or sources which the student-officers individually will consult and report to the study-conference. Usually, not all chapters or pages of a book are of equal importance, and it is not necessary to read the entire book to secure a fair idea of the method, factual presentation, argument and conclusions of the author. For instance, it is not necessary to read all of Whyte's The Organization Man or all of Mills' White Collar Man to obtain a grasp of the thesis and argumentation of each book. Discussion of a book sometimes becomes vague unless all participants have read the same parts. Again, under a system of staggered assignments, some students may miss key chapters and pages. Finally, among a group of participants there will usually be a few avid and rapid readers who will read the entire book and will bring out material that has not been covered in the assigned chapters or pages.

For instance, in the case of Whyte's The Organization Man, practically all of the methodology and conclusions of this 429-page book, including the problem of the "man in the grey flannel suit", is contained in chapters x-xv (pp. 129-201). Thus 429 pages of reading can be reduced to 70 pages.

Again, the essence of the verbose 386 pages of Reisman's The Lonely

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Grund can be found in chapters i-iii and ix-xi (pages 3-83 and 184-255). Thus, the reading of 386 pages can be reduced to 151 pages. The Freudian analysis used by Fromm in his erratic The Sane Society is sufficiently exposed in chapters i-iii and ix (pages 3-66 and 353-363), thus reducing his 370 pages to 72 pages.

Elimination of unnecessary sections of all books and documents means that the managers of the study-conference will need to select with great care the chapters and pages of each assignment. The assignments then should show precisely the volumes, section, chapters and pages to be read. Incidentally, this is the practice followed by well organized courses in colleges and universities. In the long run, it allows the average student to cover a larger range of books and documents than otherwise would be possible.

There are several rules that should govern the selection of books and documents. The virtues of these rules are, I believe, self-evident. I suggest that these rules include:

(1) On controversial subjects, the Reading Lists should offer books on both sides, or on differing sides, of the question. In other words, the readings should not be limited to the study of one ex parte book. This point cannot be over emphasized.

(2) Inferior books should not be listed when superior books on the same subject are available.

(3) When a subject has not been adequately covered in any one book, several other books (or parts of books) should be listed.

(4) Many books are tedious time-consuming treatises whose thesis and argument could have been expressed in much shorter space. In preparing the Reading Lists, those in charge of preparing the course should select the most pertinent passages and assign only these sections for reading.

It appears to me that these maxims have been frequently disregarded in the selection of books and documents cited in the Reading Lists, but I recognize that I have not had a chance to discuss this with Dr. Hager to learn his reasons for selecting certain books.

METHOD AND CONTENT OF STUDY I

The method and content of Study I (Conceptions of National Strategy) illustrate the necessity for a short introductory study of logic and methodology as already suggested. For instance, in what manner will the

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instructors in the study-conference use "logical analytic thinking" in "evaluating the degree of planned integration of political, economic, psycho-social and military elements of national power in support of national objective"? The method outlined on pages 1 and 2 of the Hager outline fails to indicate the techniques for this obviously difficult "evaluation."

Care should be taken of terminology. Does "contemporary interests" refer to the customary concept of the national interest of each sovereign power, or to the collective national interests of several powers? Does the term "objectives" correspond to the national interests?

Again, under Scope, what method or methods are to be employed to "establish standards of judgment based on historical perspective for application to current and future trends in international relations"? The method is not suggested. By what devices are the instructors going to determine the "future trends"? Are they going to rely on such techniques as the Pareto curve? Are they going to assume that any person or government can "manage" or "control" what they call "the major problems of industrialized nation-states"? Careful attention to the introductory lessons on logic and to the limits of human action will tend to avoid any exaggeration or the many pitfalls in this field.

It seems to me that the "Role of Elites in Decision-Making" would tend to run off on a false trail, perhaps suggested by the superficial treatment of this subject in Haas and Whiting, Dynamics of International Relations. The use of term elite by Haas and Whiting has little relation to reality. Accordingly, the subject of Lecture 17 (of the Hager outline) should be: "Decision-Making in a Democracy and in a Totalitarian Regime", and should cover the content of Chapter 2 (pages 233-263) in Strausz-Hupé and Possorny, International Relations in the Age of Conflict between Democracy and Dictatorship, together with several chapters in Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics by Snyder, Bruck and Sapin.

READINGS FOR STUDY I

Most of the books selected for Study I (Conceptions of National Strategy) are excellent. Some improvements could be made. Definite assignments by chapters and pages should be indicated for every book or document, thus eliminating the irrelevant sections and saving time for the student-officer to become acquainted with a wider range of sources.

No controversial book should stand alone. Any book with a bias or which defends a particular policy without examining all alternatives should be bracketted with a book on the opposite. For instance, many experts consider Feis' The China Tangle (cited on page 4 of Study I) as merely an ex parte

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defense of the Department's policy in China during and after the Second World War. If this controversial book is used, it should be followed by a book of opposite persuasion such as Freda Utley's The China Story (1951) together with Consultations with General Albert G. Wedemeyer (Committee Print, Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-Fifth Congress, Second Session, January 21, 1958).

Again, Carr's highly controversial, slanted and pessimistic book (Conditions of Peace) should be bracketted with the optimistic as well as controversial War or Peace by John Foster Dulles.

The two controversial treatises by Langer and Gleason, cited on page 4, should be placed in juxtaposition to Tansill's controversial book in the same field, namely his Back Door to War, cited on page 5; while Harry Elmer Barnes' Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace (1953) should be added.

Morganthau's somewhat opinionated Politics Among Nations should be bracketted with the more objective International Politics: Foundations of International Relations by Norman J. Padelford and George A. Lincoln.

Several inferior books in this list should be replaced by superior books. The slanted and inaccurate Dynamics of International Relations by Haas and Whiting (cited on page 4) should be replaced by the more accurate and scholarly International Relations in the Age of the Conflict Between Democracy and Dictatorship by Strauss-Rupe and Tessory.

Several classic expositions of foreign policy should be added, if for no other reason than as examples of great books that have had a wide influence on public opinion. Among these books would be Robert A. Taft, A Foreign Policy for Americans (1951); Felix Morley, The Foreign Policy of the United States (1951); and John Foster Dulles, War or Peace (1950). Each one of these books is a model of exposition, argumentation and logical conclusions. Reading such books will give the student-officers training in developing logical form and clarity of expression as well as excellence of the subject matter. Although each of these books is frankly partisan, each one is a model of intellectual honesty.

BOOK-REVIEW ESSAYS BY THE STUDENT-OFFICERS

It is believed that the list of books for book review-essays might be greatly expanded. For instance, the Memoirs of Harry S. Truman and of Herbert Hoover should be added to Sherwood's Roosevelt and Hopkins. The most clever student-officers will discover that more or less lengthy reviews of all of these books will be found in the Library of Congress in the back numbers of the American Journal of International Law; the American Historical Review; the American Political Science Review; the Review of Politics; the American

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Economic Review; and other journals. They will attempt to obtain a hint as to the good and bad features of these books by consulting these journals. On the other hand, some very conscientious student-officers may refrain from the use of these journals under the belief that such help is dishonest.

In order to treat all student-officers fairly, I suggest that all student-officers should be informed that such book-reviews exist, and use of these reviews should be recommended. Reliance on this method ensures fairness to all student-officers. It also will tend to improve the performance of the student-officers by given them models of scholarly criticism.

LECTURE-SEMINARS

There follows a suggested revision of the lecture-seminar for Study I:

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| Phase I | 1. Lectures on logical, analytical thinking and expression. |
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| Phase II | 4. The Organization of a Modern Industrial State. |
| | 5. Continuing Problems of the Nation-State. |
| | 6. Technology and Civilization. |
| | 7. The Growth of Administrative Agencies: Functions of Bureaucracies. |
| | 8. The Organization of Public Opinion in the Industrialized Democracy. |
| | 9. Elements of Power of the Modern Industrialized Nation-State. |
| Phase III | 10. Geopolitical Theories of Power. |
| | 11. Military Power and the Development of National Policies. * |
| | 12. Military Power and Implementation of National Policies and Achievement of National Objective. * |
| | 13. A Concept of Political Power; Problems of Political Realism. |

* It is recommended that General Bonner Fellers be asked to give one of these lectures or at least to lead a seminar discussion on military power and national policy. He is a retired army officer but has written much in favor of air power. I knew him in Japan years ago and have high respect for his views.

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Phase IV

14. The Concept of Culture Principles of Cross-Cultural Study.
15. Comparative Ideologies: International Relations as a Normative Science.
16. Comparative Political Organizations: Pluralistic Democracy and Totalitarianism.
17. Comparative Economic Concepts: Economics in the Understanding of International Relations.
18. Nationalism and Social Communications: Communication Theory.

The immediately following pages 11-17 inclusive contain a draft statement of purpose of Study I, Phase I and draft lecture-scopes for several of the lectures. These have been prepared by Mr. Grand and are submitted subject to further study and refinement if found desirable.

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DRAFT OF STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Study One - Conceptions of National Strategy.

Phase I: The Evolution and Nature of the Modern Industrialized Nation-State.

Objective: To gain an understanding of modern industrialized nation-states and the various factors and forces which delineate and define the power status of such states.

This phase of Study I has been designed to develop student understanding of these basic factors, tangible and intangible, which have contributed to the evolution of the modern industrialized nation-state. The effect of technological change and bureaucratic organization, both governmental and non-governmental, on the power-position and power-ranking of modern industrialized nation-states is also studied. The impact and force of public opinion, particularly insofar as it influences the strategic and tactical flexibility of the modern nation-state in implementing its foreign policy objectives, is considered as are the effects of group development and group tensions and their relation to the modern nation-states' total strategic impact.

DRAFT LECTURE - SCOPE

Title: Continuing Problems of the Nation-State System.

Suggested Lecturers: Adolf A. Berle, Jr. or Hardy C. Dillard, University of Va.

Purpose and Scope:

The assigned readings were selected to assist the student in understanding the nature of the modern nation-state; the factors which contributed to its evolution to its present day status; and some general concepts as to the limitations inherent in this type of organization as a consequence of both internal and external forces. The lecturer can contribute to a further understanding of the nation-state by a discussion of some of the following questions:

- (a) Which present day interpretations of international relations can be most fruitfully utilized for policy planning purposes in view of the dynamics of modern society?
- (b) What concessions of national sovereignty are required of the modern nation-state as a consequence of the constantly increasing economic interdependence which results from such things as increased industrialization, population growth, trade, etc.?

Readings:

Haas, E. B. & Whiting, A. S. Dynamics of International Relations

Chapter I: The Facts of Interdependence and Their Denial
(pp. 1-19)

Chapter II: Individuals, Groups, and the Nation (pp. 21-41)

Chapter III: Conflicts of Interest (pp. 42-54)

Chapter IV: The Definition of Policy Aims (pp. 55-80)

(I believe this reading suggestion can be improved as I have already mentioned).

Berle, Adolf A. Jr. Tides of Crisis

Introduction: What are modern "International Relations"?
(pp. 13-36)

Suggested Additional Readings :

Schwarzenberger, G. Power Politics

Chapter III: The National State (pp. 51-63)

Chapter IV: The Multi-National State (pp. 64-83)

Chapter V: The Sovereign State (pp. 84-101)

Lecture II

Title: Technology and Civilization.

Suggested Lecturer: John Ely Burchard, Dean of the School of Humanities, MIT

Purpose and Scope:

The assigned readings were selected to assist the student in understanding how new and revolutionary technological and scientific developments may profoundly affect the political, economic and social organization of the modern nation-state. The readings should also have contributed to an awareness of the implications of such developments, particularly as they concern the achievement of domestic and foreign policy objectives. The lecturer can increase the student's comprehension of the import of technology in molding the foreign policies of the modern nation-state through an analysis of:

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- (a) What changes might be expected in Soviet institutions, ideologies and foreign policy objectives as a consequence of the derivative influence of inventions which presumably are occurring in the USSR as a concomitant of its technological growth?
- (b) Is it to be expected that continued technological change will strengthen the bipolarity of present-day international relations or may such technological change be expected to contribute to the development of strong public motivation for the creation of a single world state?

Readings:

Ogburn, William F. et al - Technology and International Relations

Lecture I - Introductory Ideas on Inventions and the State
by William F. Ogburn (pp. 1-15)

Lecture II - The Process of Adjustment of New Inventions
by William F. Ogburn (pp. 16-27)

Lecture III - Technology and the Growth of Political Areas
by Hornell Hart (pp. 28-29 and conclusions pp. 56-57)

Lecture IV - Modern Technology and the World Order
by Quincy Wright (pp. 174-198)

Allen, R. A. et al - Technology and Social Change

Part I - Processes and Theories of Social Change

Chapt. 2-How Technology Causes Social Change (pp. 12-25)

Chapt. 3-Acceleration in Social Change (pp. 27-55)

Chapt. 4-Obstacles to Innovation (pp. 56-71)

Part IV - Rapid Social Change and Social Problems

Chapt. 18-Major Problems Arising From Social Change (pp. 435-450)

Lecture III

Title: The Organization of a Modern Industrial State.

Suggested Lecturers: Shepard B. Clough, Columbia University or Adolf A. Berle, Jr.

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Purpose and Scope:

Previous lectures and readings have contributed to an understanding of these tangible and intangible factors which combined constitute the human and material resources of a modern nation-state and which delineate and define its effective political, economic and military power. The lecturer can further this understanding by a discussion of the following:

A. The specialization which results from the complex organization of the modern industrial state seems inevitably to have developed an emphasis on conformity. Discuss the social stresses and strains resulting from this emphasis in terms of:

1. Conflicts of interest between the industrialized society and its governmental structure; and
2. The efforts which have been made to resolve these conflicts.

B. What group tensions develop in the modern industrial state? What problems do they create? How do they effect national power? How do they influence foreign policy?

Readings:

Haas, E. B. & Whiting, A. S. Dynamics of International Relations

Part Two-Factors of Power

Chapt. 5: Tangible Factors of Power (pp. 81-109)

Chapt. 6: Intangible Factors of Power (pp. 111-139)

President's Materials Policy Commission Report Resources for Freedom
(Volume I)

Part I - Foundations for Growth

Chapt. 1 - Materials and Freedom (pp. 1-3)

Chapt. 2 - Dimensions: Past and Future (pp. 4-7)

Chapt. 3 - The Opportunities (pp. 8-12)

Chapt. 4 - The Difficulties (pp. 13-17)

Chapt. 5 - Steps Toward Policy (pp. 17-21)

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Part II - Strengthening Domestic Resources

Chapt. 6 - The Changing Pattern of Growth (pp. 23-25)

Part III - Promoting Free World Expansion

Chapter 11 - The Opportunity and the Problem (pp. 59-62)

The Editors of Fortune U.S.A. - The Permanent Revolution

Part III - Chapt. VIII - The Problems of Free Men (pp. 163-179)

Lecture IV

Title: The Growth of Administrative Agencies: The Function of Bureaucracies.

Suggested Lecturers: Peter M. Blau, University of Chicago; Peter H. Odegard, University of California (Berkeley); or Paul H. Appleby, New York State Budget Director.

Purpose and Scope:

Previous lectures and readings have contributed to an understanding of the development of the modern nation-state and of the interplay of the various forces which define and mitigate the effective power of such a state. The lecturer can contribute to the student's further understanding of the evolution of bureaucracy, both governmental and non-governmental, and its role in the modern nation-state, through a discussion of the following:

- (a) Will the trend toward centralization and bigness in non-governmental bureaucracies give impetus to the continuance of a similar trend in governmental bureaucracies? If so, what is the future viability of a federal system of government?
- (b) Is there an essential difference in the role of the bureaucrat in the modern democratic state and the modern totalitarian state? Will the to-be-expected growth of governmental bureaucracies change this role?
- (c) Does the need for governmental continuity in the modern nation-state inevitably result in the placing of effective political control in the hands of the bureaucrat?
- (d) Accommodation and compromise have, in the past, resolved conflicts between elective representatives and governmental bureaus. If the latter continue to grow, what types of controls will be necessary in order to maintain the power position of the former?

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What effect will such controls, if effective, have upon the value and effectiveness of bureaucracies?

- (e) Discuss the effect of the growth of governmental bureaucracies on foreign policy decision making in modern democratic and totalitarian states.

Readings:

"Bureaucracy and Democratic Government" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 292 (March 1954)

1. How Bureaucracies Develop and Function by Arnold Brecht (pp. 1-10)
2. Toward a Responsible Bureaucracy by Peter H. Odegard (pp. 18-29)
3. Responsiveness vs. Efficiency in Public Service by James L. McCamy (pp. 30-38)
4. Administrative Law and Bureaucracy by Marshall E. Dimock (pp. 57-64)
5. Bureaucracy and the Future by Paul H. Appleby (pp. 136-151)

Lecture V

Title: The Organization of Public Opinion in the Industrialized Democratic State.

Suggested Lecturers: Gabriel A. Almond, Princeton University; or Joseph E. Johnson, Carnegie Foundation; or Arthur Krock, The New York Times; or Edward W. Barret, Columbia University.

Purpose and Scope:

Public opinion can significantly strengthen or weaken the modern nation-state's power, particularly its strategic and tactical flexibility in implementing foreign policy objectives. Mass communications and the integration and organization of modern society have created in both democratic and totalitarian states and insistent awareness and preoccupation with public opinion forces, both at home and abroad. Public opinion, therefore, as an element of nation power, has been transformed from a potential into a present-day reality. The methods developed by modern nation-states to convert public opinion into an effective tool of national power are a source of recurrent conjecture and study. The lecturer can contribute to a better understanding of public opinion and its role in the conduct of the industrialized democratic

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state's international relations by discussing the following questions:

(a) Is the successful marshalling of public opinion in (1) the industrialized democratic state and (2) the industrialized totalitarian state dependent more upon the "bridging of differences which separate various groups within the community" or upon successfully playing groups with different views and interests against one another?

(b) Compare the impact and import of mass public opinion on foreign policy decision-making in both the industrialized democratic state and the industrialized totalitarian state in the light of:

1. The trend towards centralized control or mass media facilities in democratic industrialized states and,
2. The role played by elites and experts.

(c) Since mass participation in domestic and foreign policy decision-making is both indirect and primarily passive, discuss the importance of international propaganda in implementing the foreign policy objectives of industrialized democratic and totalitarian states.

Readings:

Allmond, G. A. - The American Public and Foreign Policy

Chapt. IV - The Instability of Mood (pp. 69-86)

Chapt. V - Changes in the Foreign Policy Mood (pp. 87-115)

Chapt. VII - The Elites and Foreign Policy (pp. 136-157)

Chapt. VIII - The Foreign Policy Consensus (pp. 158-191)

Chapt. X - Consensus in a World Crisis (pp. 226-244)

The Editions of Fortune - U.S.A. - The Permanent Revolution

Part 3 - Chapt. X - Have We Any Friends (pp. 208-229)

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With regard to the actual construction of the course, it is suggested that while the lecture-seminars begin on September 15, the students should be encouraged to use as much time as they can of the previous week beginning September 8, for reading and preparation. Lecture-seminars should be held during this first study four days per week: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. This leaves all of Wednesday for reading and preparation and for any other specific purpose. The lecture-seminar would end during the week of October 13, and the balance of Study I should be devoted to summary and recapitulation of this Study with one or more round table seminars, the details of which will be worked out later. It is recommended that the daily schedules be as follows:

Seminar-Lecture Days:

8:30 to 9:30	Reading
9:30 to 10:30	Seminar Lecture
10:30 to 12:00	Seminar Discussion with Lecturer
12:00 to 1:30	Luncheon Groups
1:30 to 2:30	Group Discussion
2:30 to 4:00	Reading
4:00 to 5:00	Reading; Writing "Daily Digest" *

Non-Seminar Days:

8:30 to 9:30	Reading
9:30 to 10:30	Seminar Discussion
10:30 to 12:00	Reading
12:00 to 1:30	Luncheon Groups
1:30 to 2:30	Reading
2:30 to 4:00	Reading
4:00 to 5:00	Book Review or other Writing

* Daily Digest is explained later.

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METHOD AND CONTENT OF STUDY II

The method in Study II offers little to criticize. The content, however, undoubtedly requires some revision. I strongly recommend a change in the arrangement and content of the lectures in the following manner:

1. The Anatomy of Social Movements.
2. Freedom and Security: The Free State and the Garrison State.
3. Competing Concepts: The Issue of Racial Integration versus Segregation.
4. Concepts of Class and Group Membership.
5. The American Business Corporation.
6. Concepts of Behaviour Patterns in Large Organizations: "The Organization Man".
7. The Labor Union Movement.
8. Labor Management Relations: Collective Bargaining.
9. Government Regulation To Prevent Abuses in Business and Labor Unions.
10. Pressure Groups in the American Democracy.
11. Business as a Pressure Group: The National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
12. Labor Unions as Pressure Groups.
13. Farm Organizations as Pressure Groups.
14. Pressure Groups in Education.
15. Racial Pressure Groups: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
16. The United States as a "Religious People".
17. Protestant-Catholic-Jewish Activities.
18. The Problem of the "Workable Majority".

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19. Political Parties in a Democracy.
20. Public Opinion and Mass Communication.
21. Elections as Measurements of Public Opinion.

The above arrangement provides for more integration and comprehensiveness of the program. Lecture I should not be confined to Psychology, but should also include Economics and Sociology.

The Hager program recommends devoting four lectures to the organization and operation of labor unions. Accordingly, there should be at least one lecture devoted to the organization and operation of the American business corporation in the free market, and its place in American society. Again, the Hager program does not treat labor unions as pressure groups. But it gives two lectures on business as a pressure group, one lecture on farmers as a pressure group, one lecture on Negroes as a pressure group. The study of business and labor unions as organizations should come first, followed by lectures on the pressure group activities of business, labor unions, farmers, educational associations, racial groups and churches.

Reverting to my suggested revision of the Hager program, Lecture 5 (The American Business Corporation) should be devoted to the corporation as an important element of American society. This lecture should draw heavily on Adolf A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means, The Modern Corporation and Private Property (1933), and Berle's The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution (1954), in which Berle described the emergence of what he calls the "corporate conscience".

The ideal lecturer for Lecture 5 would be Adolf A. Berle, Jr., himself. He is generous in responding to invitations to speak on this subject, and probably would be available.

Lecture 5 would be naturally followed by Lecture 6 (Concepts of Behavior Patterns in Large Organizations: "The Organization Man") and the problems posed by William A. Whyte. Incidentally, Whyte's analysis of these problems is superficial; but the problems, nevertheless, remain to be solved, including the problem of the "MAN in the gray flannel suit". The discussion of these problems should be based not merely on Whyte's book but also on Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization: The Conflict Between System and the Individual (1958).

Four lectures on the AFL-CIO, the United Mine Workers, and so on, would be deadly dull and uninformative. Lecture 7 (The Labor Union Movement), which I have proposed should discuss briefly the history of the labor movement, the internal organization of a labor union, the difference between a

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craft and an industrial union, the open and closed shop, Communism in labor unions, and the international relations of labor unions, including the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with which most American labor unions are affiliated. I have sent a memorandum to EUR/X Mr. Raymond Murphy asking his comments and suggestions.

Lecture 9 should briefly survey governmental regulation of both business and labor unions. It should cover the legislation of the Federal Government to curb monopoly in business and to enforce fair practices; while discussing the Taft Hartley Law and abuses by certain labor leaders as recently exposed by the McClellan Senate Select Committee.

According to the program suggested above, the study of the organization and regulation of business and labor unions, should be followed by Lecture 10 (Pressure Groups in the American Democracy). This lecture should treat pressure groups as a natural phenomenon in the democratic process. This general lecture would be followed by lectures describing the pressure group tactics of business, labor unions, far association, educational societies, racial groups and church denominations.

Discussion of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce should be brought into one lecture, namely Lecture 11 (Business as a Pressure Group). Separate lectures on each association are wholly unnecessary. ✓

With reference to Lecture 12 and 13 as originally planned by Dr. Hager, I am aware of the fact that he may have planned to have one lecture given by an officer of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and a second lecture by an officer of the National Association of Manufacturers. As with the labor unions, this procedure is too time-consuming. I suggest that the proposed Lecture 11 (Business as a Pressure Group) be a joint discussion by an officer of the Chamber of Commerce and an officer of NAM. Undoubtedly such reasonable experts as Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt (research director of the Chamber of Commerce) and Warren Kinsman (NAM) or Edward Maher (NAM) would agree to such a joint appearance.

Lecture 12 (Labor Unions as Pressure Groups), should discuss, among other things, the political activities of labor unions, especially the Political Action Committee of the CIO, and Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. Here again, I am asking EUR/X Mr. Murphy for comment and suggestions.

It is incorrect to say that American agriculture has goals and programs. The various farmer pressure groups, of course, have goals and programs, and so does the U. S. Department of Agriculture. Lecture 13 should show how such pressure groups as the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, and the National Farmers Union (the latter association representing marginal

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farms) have influenced agricultural legislation and policy. Charles B. Shuman, President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, is a fair-minded executive, and could well speak for the whole farm movement.

Likewise, in Lecture 14, American education will be discussed from the pressure group viewpoint, and should show the activities of the powerful National Education Association and its numerous affiliates, as well as the Parent Teachers Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Association of Colleges, the American Council on Education, the American Library Association, the American Association of University Professors and the various organizations of church schools. The lecture should explain briefly the organization of education in the United States and show that traditionally public education is in the control of the people of the States and local communities.

Lecture 15 would cover the organization, programs and tactics of racial pressure groups such as the NAACP but not limited to the NAACP.

The U. S. Supreme Court, in the case of *Zorach v. Clausen*, 343 U. S. 306 (1952), has said: "We are a religious people". This theme and its implications may be worth a lecture.

Lecture 17 (Protestant-Catholic-Jewish Activities) should sum up the programs and pressure activities of the churches in one lecture, instead of devoting a whole lecture to each church. It is recognized that it may be impractical to secure one lecturer on Protestant-Catholic-Jewish Activities, and that we may be compelled to resort to the time-consuming arrangement of three separate lectures by three different clerics. In this case, one discussion period might cover the entire series. For this discussion, a fair-minded and trained discussion-leader, like Dr. Hall Bartlett mentioned above, would suffice.

The program, as originally formulated, has neglected the important subject of political parties. Lecture 18 should discuss the problem of the "workable majority", contrasting the two-party system in the United States, Great Britain and Canada with the multiple-party system of France and Italy. The former system promotes stability in government, while the latter promotes instability, as illustrated by the twenty-five or more ministerial crises in France in 1946-1958. Lecture 18 should also discuss the American technique of compromise within political parties between conflicting interests and sections of the country. The role of Congress should be studied.

Lecture 19 should show that political parties in a modern democracy are as much a part of government as are the legislature, the executive and the courts.

The Hager program is weak in the field of public opinion. Lecture 20

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(Public Opinion and Mass Communication) should analyze the sources of public opinion, appraise the influence of pressure groups, assess the effectiveness of propaganda, and measure the impact of mass media such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

Lecture 21 (Elections as Measures of Public Opinion) gives opportunity to sum up the implementation of the popular will by means of parties and elections, and to point up trends in government.

I regret to have proposed a complete overhauling of the lecture program of Study II. But it seems to me that this program is not as realistic and not so well integrated as Hager's three other programs.

READINGS FOR STUDY II

A controversial book should be bracketted with another book of opposite persuasion. Myrdal's highly controversial book, The American Dilemma, should be followed by Robert Penn Warren's Segregation: The Inner Conflict of the South (1957). Truman's Years of Trial and Hope should be offset by the last volume of Herbert Hoover's Memoirs. It will be difficult to find a proper counterpart to Fromm's extremely controversial book, The Sane Society. Fromm, relying on Freudian analysis, depicts the United States and much of the world as a "sick society". The book should be retained in the list, but it should be bracketted with a book that views American society as fairly healthy, together with a third book that criticizes the Freudian analysis of society. The discussion-leader when Fromm's book is discussed should be familiar with Freudian psychology.

It is believed that the procedures as well as many of the methods suggested for Study I are applicable mutatis mutandis to Study II. It is also suggested that at least four lecture-seminars per week be held for Study II and if necessary on some days two lecture-seminars be held. It may be found that some of the material suggested for Study II can be covered merely by reading assignments and lecture-seminars may not be necessary in every case as suggested above. This is a matter for determination by the course managers.

DAILY DIGEST

It is recommended that the student-officers be required to prepare a "Daily Digest" which would consist of notes or material that the student himself desires to remember and to retain for his own use. He should limit his "Daily Digest" to one or at the most two pages. These papers should be helpful to both the students and the course managers in determining the progress being made and the rate and degree of assimilation by the student of the material presented. Students should be encouraged to exchange their "Daily Digest" and to criticize one another on the content thereof. I am sure that other items of refinement and improvement in this daily exercise will occur to the students and course managers as time goes by. I do feel that it may well prove valuable to have the student

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collect his thoughts once a day and put down on paper notes which he considers important enough to want to remember.

I am forwarding under separate memorandum copies of suggestions obtained from the several high ranking officers of the Department whom I have consulted.